1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
[177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for
[534] a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.
[114]

MARRIAGE

583 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
584 account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

● 591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [143] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 611 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

[431] [583] [834]

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

[535] [881]

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

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the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1980 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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However, the older people who use the alternate cousin terms handle the language expertly and can speak as authoritatively on the culture as those who use the standard terminology. When asked the reason for using alternate cousin terms, these older people usually say that they just prefer them. One man said that he used the alternate cousin term because he disliked his cousin but was fond of his brother who was dead. He did not want to apply the term for a relative whom he liked to one he disliked. On the other hand, another informant said he used alternate cousin terms for male cousins because he was friendly with them (the cousin terms also mean "friend"). Another informant said she used the alternate cousin terms because these relatives were not her "real" siblings. Apparently, no rules govern the use of standard or alternate cousin terms; it appears to be a matter of personal preference.

In general, the younger people (10-19 years of age) who use alternate cousin terms do not know that sibling terms are also correct. This does not seem to cause conversational confusion. One boy told me that his cousins called him brother whereas he always called them cousin. He found the situation amusing, but apparently saw no conflict in the usages. Another boy recalled that he had heard older people call their cousins siblings, but said that he never did.

There is no noticeable tendency for a person who uses one of the alternate terms to use any of the others. Only one informant used the alternate lineal terms for both cousins and uncles. He had no nephews and nieces and so his usage for these relatives could not be determined.

RESIDENCE RULES

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Washo residence rules have undergone no discernible changes since the end of the aboriginal period. The minor differences between the findings of Lowie (1939), Curtis (1926), and myself are probably not due to change. Instead they appear to arise from two circumstances: (1) Washo residence patterns are difficult to characterize since there is no residence rule which must be strictly followed; and (2) Lowie and Curtis used only a few informants whereas my data were gathered from a fairly large number of people. The residence patterns reported by a large number of persons might reasonably be expected to show greater variation than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule.

Lowie reports residence as matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple burned the house and moved. Another of his informants describes residence as matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality. After a few weeks, the couple returned to the husband's family, but many of the couples lived in both places alternately (Curtis, 1926, p. 97).

These foregoing statements agree reasonably well with most of the data on residence which I collected. However, the situation is more complicated than Lowie and Curtis report. The 70 genealogies and associated brief life histories contain information on 37 first marriages of persons of all ages. Fourteen were initially matrilocal. After a few years, usually following the birth of the first child, the couple shifted residence. Of the 14 initially matrilocal marriages, 7 were

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

601 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfathers were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology. [591]

601 178 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 156), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In [596]

Residence Rules

Residence rules were established from the published reports, the statements of our older informants referring to aboriginal times, and the census data and brief life histories provided by our group of 70 informants. Lowie reports that residence was matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple moved. Another of his informants says that residence following marriage could be either matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality of a few weeks, after which the couple went to the husband's family. Many couples lived in either place alternately (Curtis, 1926, 97). On the basis of the information given by Lowie and Curtis, Washo residence is therefore bilocal with a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

Our informants report three kinds of residence: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. According to our older informants, no compelling rule governs the choice of residence. Most people spend the greater part of their lives near the parents or other close relatives of the husband or wife; neolocal residence occurs, but is usually of short duration and therefore relatively unimportant. Neolocal residence is reported as frequently by our older informants as by our younger ones, indicating that neolocal residence is not a recent innovation. Our data do not support a tendency toward initial matrilocality. Of 48 marriages reported by our informants, 17 were initially matrilocal. Since only three kinds of residence choices occur, on the basis of chance one-third of them would be matrilocal. The 17 initially matrilocal residence choices that occurred in the sample of 48 marriages do not differ sufficiently from the 16 that would be expected from chance alone to suggest a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

It is not entirely clear whether or not data from the modern Washo indicate that changes have occurred in Washo residence patterns since aboriginal times. I believe that none have occurred -- that the apparent differences between the reports of Lowie and Curtis and the data collected by my wife and myself arise from differences in field procedure. Lowie and Curtis interviewed only a few people, whereas we interviewed many. Residence data gathered from a large number of people will show greater variability than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule. Modern Washo residence is best described as bilocal, and probably no change has occurred since aboriginal times (Freed, 1960, 360-1).

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

• 591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents' living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dánal ('winter houses')

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tō	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF	NWA
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	591
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	NWA
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	684
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	586
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	548
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
*2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	836
KINSHIP RELATIONS															
Avoidances															
*2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	606
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	602
Joking Relations															
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	605 607
Adoption															
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	597
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES															
*2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	838
*2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	N
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[842]
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	N
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[787]

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